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II. *The first week ; Confinement Period.*

846 733 863 From the day of birth till the moment when the umbilical cord falls, seven days may elapse : this forms a special period called *busahana*, which is the period of confinement for both mother and child. It will be concluded by the special ceremony of the child's first outing, marked by the rite of the broken pot. During these seven or eight days, *the mother* is restricted to a special diet, and this is a true "marginal period" for her. She is absolutely outside the pale of society. The diet is prescribed by the family doctor, who knows how to treat children, and consists of a special dish prepared with Kafir corn (1) (mabele) and called *shimhimbi*, with which special medicines have been mixed. The aim of this medication (khwebela busahana) is twofold : first to expel the unclean blood which follows the birth, and which is a very great taboo, and secondly to stimulate the production of the milk. This food is cooked in a special pot (shikhwebelo sha busahana) and is eaten not with the hands, as some particles of the unclean blood might enter it and cause the mother to become phthisic, but with a special spoon.

846 Both the pot and the spoon will be fastened over the entrance of the hut, inside (shirangen sha nyangwa), at the end of this period of seclusion.

A fowl is also killed during these first days, a hen if the child is a girl, a cock if it is a boy. Some medicinal powder is poured into the broth, and the mother drinks it and eats part of the meat, the husband eating the remainder. This little luxury is indulged in as it helps the mother to recover her strength sooner ; she is attended to by her own mother, who has been summoned as soon as the birth has been satisfactorily effected, and who helps her to feed the child.

262 (1) This use of Kafir corn in this and other old rites proves the antiquity of this cereal. It is probably the first which was known to the Natives. Maize is quite a modern food amongst the Thongas, though the time of its introduction is not known. See Part IV.

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846 853 As regards *the child*, the umbilical cord is anointed every day; he begins to take the breast and drink the "*milombyana*," the great medicine which we shall describe later on.

During these days many taboos must be observed:

The *husband* is not allowed to enter the hut on any pretext; this is not on account of his being unclean, quite the contrary. A birth does not contaminate the father amongst the Ba-Thonga as it does in other tribes. He is not obliged to undergo any medication. His exclusion from the conjugal hut is due entirely to the fact that his wife is polluted by the blood of the lochia, and he would run the greatest danger to himself if he came near.

846 854 *All married people* are also excluded (bakhili) viz. all those who have regular sexual intercourse. Should they touch the child, he would die. If however a woman wishes very much to go and see the new-born, she must abstain from relations with her husband during two days. Then she can be admitted into the hut. On the other hand young girls are welcome in the hut, but they must not kiss the baby during these first days. "It is not yet firm; it is only water," as they say; later on, when it begins to laugh and to play, they may kiss it. Even the father may do so then; when he comes back from a journey, he holds it in his arms and kisses it on the temple. Supposing that the 846 umbilical cord has now fallen off normally, the confinement period will be at an end. This termination is marked by two rites.

The mother of the delivered woman will have *to smear with clay the floor of the hut.* This is the great cleansing act which brings to an end a marginal period. It takes away all the dangerous blood, and the husband as well as all the other dwellers in the village will be allowed to enter the hut.

846 751 278 825 The second act is *the rite of the broken pot* (ku tjibelela shirengelen, viz. to make fire under the shirengele, the bit of broken pot used for the purpose). This is a medical treatment and a religious ceremony combined. It is performed by the family doctor on the threshold of the hut in the following way: he puts into this piece of broken pottery pieces of skin of all the beasts of the bush: antelopes, wild cats, elephants, hippopotami, rats, civet cats, hyenas, elands and snakes of dangerous kinds, and roasts

846 751 825 278 856 them till they burn. The smoke then rises, and he exposes the child to it for a long time : the body, face, nose and mouth. The baby begins to cry ; he sneezes, he coughs : this is just what is wanted. Then the doctor takes what remains of the pieces of skin, grinds them, makes a powder, mixes it with *tihuhlu* (1) grease of the year before last and consequently hard enough to make an ointment. With this ointment he rubs the whole body of the child, especially the joints, which he extends gently in order to assist the baby's growth.

846 751 853 All this fumigation and manipulation is intended to act as a preventive. Having been thus exposed to all external dangers, dangers which are represented by the beasts of the bush, the child may go out of the hut. He is now able "to cross the foot prints of wild beasts" (tjemakanya mitila) without harm. Snakes will not bite him, at any rate their bite will not hurt him ; lions will not kill him. The remainder of the powder is put into a little bit of reed closed at both ends, which the mother has to carry with her during the whole nursing period in order to continue the treatment.

846 755 763 821 This rite of the broken pot is also the great preventive remedy against the much dreaded ailment of babies, *convulsions*. If a child suffers from this, they will say : "a tlalile shirengelen," viz. "he did not find any help in the broken pot" and the parents will go to another doctor whose drugs are more powerful, to have the child once more exposed to the smoke. It may even be that a grown-up man will undergo this treatment again, if he has been ill with convulsions, but, in this case, the broken pot with its pieces of skin is put on the head of the patient, which has been first covered with a wisp of cuscuta (hare dja yendjeyendje). The great aim of all the medication of children by the "milombyana" is also to fight against convulsions, as we shall see (2).

(1) The tihuhlu are the seeds of the nkuhlu tree known under the name of mafureira. They are oleaginous and the fat (mafura) obtained from them is very much used for external applications amongst the Thongas.

(2) In *Savage Childhood* p. 12, Dudley Kidd describes this "baptism of smoke" amongst Zulus. Some dirt is scraped from the father's body and is mixed with other drugs in order to impart to the child his ancestral spirit. Another ingredient

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846 851 603 For any subsequent children, the feast will be reduced to the presentation by the grandmother of a basket of food to "*tlangela ñwana*," viz. to "celebrate the child."

III. *The Nursing Period.*

853 The little child has been taken out of the confinement hut (humesha busahanen). He is now allowed to go outside. The nursing period then begins and will last two and a half or three years; but before we study the rites which mark it, let us consider the manner in which the baby is carried and his diet during this period.

A South-African woman with her child in the ntehe.

1) The Ntehe.

854 A little child is not carried by his mother in her arms, but in a softened skin which is called *ntehe*. The preparation of the ntehe is subject to many prescribed customs.

The first of these is this: the ntehe must not be looked out before the birth of the child, or it would bring misfortune. This is a taboo which I might call a "taboo of prevision." Some other taboos of this kind are met with in our tribe.

[604] For a first-born child, the skin must be provided by the maternal uncle. This is a rule, but the custom is not tabooed (1). The father may also prepare it, if necessary.

825 854 The ntehe must not be a sheep skin. That is taboo. Let them take the skin of a duiker (blue antelope), of a goat or of a mhala (impala). Sheep skins are

(1) Though the term taboo generally means a prohibition, I take the liberty of using it in a positive sense: A custom is taboo or is tabooed when its transgression is a taboo.

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only employed when three or four children have died in previous years and the mother is in the state of destitution called *buwumba*. (Chap. II.)

The ntehe is arranged in such a way that the legs of the animal are used as straps, the forelegs are tied around the neck, the hindlegs around the waist and the child is in that way held well against his mother's shoulders. He can either show his head outside his ntehe or be entirely covered by it. This way of carrying babies is very convenient : mother and child get so accustomed to it that a baby, when you lift it, stretches out its legs at once at right angles with its body in order to sit on its mother's back ; and the mother can easily do all her work, even till her fields with the baby on her back in its ntehe !

2) The diet during the nursing period.

The child is nursed by the mother. He is allowed to take the breast at any time. There is nothing like a diet regulation amongst Natives and they would deem it cruelty to refuse the breast to a crying child.

There are some customs relating to the *milk*. When a mother has to leave her child for a short time, she squeezes a few drops of her milk on his neck in order to prevent him feeling thirsty. When she has been absent for more than one day (this can only happen when the child is able to eat some solid food) and returns home, before nursing the child again she heats a bit of broken pot in the fire and squeezes into it a little milk from each breast. The liquid evaporates. The reason of the custom is this : the mother's milk has grown cold ; it must be warmed again ; otherwise the child will be constipated. This is a taboo (1). When a baby bites the teat, it is regarded as naughtiness and the mother scratches its forehead as a punishment.

Mothers not having enough milk use a kind of shrub called

(1) Compare with the Zulu milk charms described by D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, page 36.

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neta as a medecine. The shrub, which is an Euphorbiacea, contains milky sap. It is a treatment based on the principle : Similia similibus curantur.

The Thongas believe that milk alone would never suffice to make a child grow : *Ñwana a kula hi miri, the child grows by medicine*, such is the adage which is universally met with. When you see a woman carrying a child on her back, you will notice hanging to the *ntehe* the reed (lihlanga) containing the black powder which protects against the dangers of the bush, and a little calabash half filled with water. This water is not pure water, it is the medicine called *milombyana*. This word is the plural and diminutive form of *nombo*, which means baby's ailment. There is a great *nombo*, convulsions, also called *tilo*, heaven, because this complaint is brought into a mysterious connection with the influence of Heaven (See Part VI). There is a small *nombo* ; this is the infantile diarrhea which so often troubles little children ; but both diseases are supposed to be caused by the *nyoka*, the intestinal parasite, the worm or snake (nyoka means both) which is in every child and must always be combated because, if unchecked, it will pass from the bowels to the stomach ; it will come and beat the fontanella (1) and will finally penetrate the chest. Then the little one will turn up his eyes, be seized by convulsions and die. Happily there are some drugs which have a wonderful effect on this dangerous guest ! One of my neighbours, who was a convert in Rikatla, gave me their names. The first is a very common Protacea (?) with large bunks called the Dlanyoka, "the one which kills worms." Mixed with the roots of a Leguminacea called *Ñwamahlanga* and with two other plants found near the sea, it forces the worm to keep quiet. These drugs are boiled and the decoction is carefully poured into a special little pot called *hlembetwana ya milombyana* which will be kept in the hut. Every morning the mother will warm the pot a little, pour some of its contents into a shell of sala and give the child a

(1) Tjaka-tjaka, the fontanella, plays a great part in the diagnosis of children's diseases and they often cover it with black wax. When the child hiccoughs, his mother or somebody else will blow on the fontanella to prevent vomiting. This will "make his heart stand" (yimisa mbilu).

856 mouthful to drink, then dip her finger into the medecine and let
751 two or three drops fall from it on the fontanella ; then she spits on
757 the lower part of the shell and presses it all along the sternum
854 of the baby as far as the navel. This is said to "nurse the child, to make him grow." Should he be sick, this treatment will be repeated many times a day. If he is well and goes about with his mother, she will pour the *milombyana* into the small calabash and give him a few sups from it from time to time.

The child must never drink ordinary water, but only the
853 *milombyana* decoction. It is a taboo. Should the mother travel
271 far from home and leave behind her the *milombyana* pot, she is
284 allowed to add some water to the calabash, but she must always leave a little of the decoction in the calabash before doing so. The mother herself is not allowed to drink the water of another country. She must only drink water from home and, if she is forced to travel, she must take a little powder from the reed each time she drinks, so that the child may become familiarised with that country (1). These laws must be kept during all the nursing period.

862 The child begins to eat *solid food* as soon as his teeth are cut, and when he is able to take it with his own hands. But some people do not like to give it to him too soon, as they say his stools become fetid. When later on he is able to go outside and to take care of himself, then he can eat any ordinary food.

853 If the mother dies during the nursing period, the little one is almost sure to follow her. The baby is fed with goat's or cow's milk, but the Natives do not know that they must add water to it ; sooner or later therefore the child dies of enteritis.

I have heard of some cases in which another woman has taken charge of the child, nursed him with her own milk and weaned him successfully ; her own child being older, she weaned him earlier than the usual time and nursed the other child in his

261 (1) A similar custom is observed in the case of moving from one country to another.
484 When a Ronga comes back from Kimberley having found a wife there, both bring with them a little of the earth of the place they are leaving, and the woman must eat a little of it every day in her porridge in order to accustom herself to her new abode. This earth provides the transition between the two domiciles!

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853 place. These women were wives of the same husband at Libombo near Rikatla and the foster mother claimed compensation for her deed. Another wonderful case is the following : a woman died shortly after the birth of her boy called Mayimbule ; the

415

Thonga calabashes

The smaller are used to [illegible] medicinal powders (*nkumbulwani*). The next to the [illegible] are employed for the circumcision. Those with the long handles are the calabashes used as bottles or for drinking.

853 grandmother, by name Mishidohi, who had an adult son and had had no other child since, prepared light beer and other appropriate food and succeeded in secreting milk in her own breast ; so the child was saved !

856 826 A child during these first months of its existence is regarded as a very weak creature. "I mati !" i. e. "It is nothing but water !" Hence perhaps the curious idea that a baby, just like a new born animal, is able to swim, at any rate it cannot be drowned : it floats on the water. When a woman carrying a little child on her back crosses a river and is in danger of being swept away by the stream, people shout to her from the shore : "Untie the 'ntehe' and let the baby cross. Think of yourself, the little one will follow all right." They say: "Psa yila, it is taboo that a baby should sink." Note the curious use of the word "yila" in this sentence.

3) Dentition.

856 364 351 As soon as the child has cut the two lower and upper incisors, the mother takes a white bead (tjambu) and ties it to one of the child's hairs above the forehead. This white bead is said to help the other teeth to come out normally. If this precaution were not taken, the child would not become intelligent ; he would shiver instead of smiling ; he would bring forward his lips and his tongue to prevent the air from getting into his mouth ! When all the teeth are duly cut, the bead is removed and thrown away *talen*, viz. on the *tala*. The *tala* is the ash-heap, the place behind the hut on which everyone throws ashes and dirt. It plays a great part in the customs of the Thongas and other South African Bantus.

195 The teeth (tinyo-menyo) of the children are called figuratively *hobe*. The *hobe* (pl. *tihobe*) means the grain of pounded maize which is white and very similar to a tooth. Hence the expression : "A humi hobe," "he has got out a grain of maize," employed to indicate the cutting of the teeth.

787 766 856 When a child cuts his upper teeth first, it is a bad omen. In the Northern clans and especially amongst the Ba-Pedi, it is a great taboo. At his death the child must be buried in wet soil.

787 Amongst the Ba-Ronga the ill-omen is not considered so serious.
782 Later on, when the child loses his first teeth, he must not
856 let them fall out hap-hazard anywhere. He must take the fallen tooth, go to the ash-heap, put his finger into the hole and say : "Kokwa, kokwa, ndji hwe hobe !" (Grandfather, grandfather, give me a grain of maize !) Then he throws the tooth over his shoulder on to the ashes and goes home without looking backward. Should he look backward, his grandfather (the spirit of the departed ?)-would not give him a new tooth (1). This custom is no longer taboo and is disappearing.

856 When a younger brother cuts his teeth, they are considered
163 as pushing away or pulling out the teeth of the elder, as the younger brother comes into the world, as a rule, three years after the elder.

As regards *hair*, the first cutting is accompanied by the following
302 custom : the mother sprinkles some drops of her milk on the
836 forehead and on the occiput of the child ; then she cuts his hair and throws it away in the midst of thick grass. When she cuts her own hair, she always leaves a lock on both sides of the head for the amusement of the child, till he is able to walk.

853 Nursing women very often anoint themselves with ochre. This is said to be in order to prevent their husbands from having relations with them.

These rites are not considered as very important. But there are three others which are most punctiliously observed, and which divide the nursing period into three subperiods : the presentation to the moon, after three months, the tying of the cotton string, after one year, and the weaning ceremonies at the close of the period.

4) The presentation to the moon (ku yandla).

821 The appearance of the new moon is always received with cheers by the Ba-Ronga. The first person who sees it shouts :

(1) Comparative Ethnography : I remember quite well that, when I was a boy, we were told in Neuchâtel that we must not let a broken tooth get lost, lest it should be found by a dog and a dog's tooth would grow in its stead !

A demonstration of joy takes place at the birth of any subsequent child, but the kunga is only performed for the first-born. It does not seem that in the case of the first-born child, as in the case of bowumba (see p. 125) the gifts of kunga are subject to any taboo.

8) Loss of children.

A woman who loses an infant (wa ku felwa) is deeply contaminated with the defilement of death. She must bury it herself without aid from her husband. Next day, she goes behind the hut, kneels down and draws off her own milk on to the ground. She does this until the secretion has ceased. This is taboo ; her milk is polluted ; no drop of it must fall in the gardens. She must avoid crossing the fields and going to the storehouses to fetch food. Until she has been "put right again (busetela)," she eats with a spoon. To use a spoon is a bad omen for a woman, because it reminds her of death. That is the reason why men adopt this civilized custom more readily than women. During her mourning, no sexual relations are allowed. When menstruation begins again, she first keeps silent, and does not tell her husband. Only on the second or third occasion does she inform him of the fact. He can then purify her ; this is done in the same way as in the case of widows. (See p. 154.) Then he buys new clothing for her and she resumes her ordinary mode of life. Everybody seeing her with this new attire will know that "she has been repaired." Should any one else than the husband give her this clothing, the latter will be greatly offended and accuse her of having relations with a lover.

A man does not put on *malopa*, mourning clothing, for a child who was not yet of age. The woman alone does so. However a husband is always grieved at the death of his child and a sad event like this often leads to dreadful results. He will begin to think that his wife is a witch and has eaten her own child by her magical powers. Such an accusation is almost sure to end in a divorce.

A woman who has *lost many children*, three or four, is considered

247 331 (L.), with its white or pink blossoms, which have spread all over the coast.

Having now finished our first general inspection, let us add some details about the huts and the open places in the village.

342 784 The hut, the construction of which we shall describe later on, (Part IV) has an opening (nyangwa) of variable dimensions closed by a door. In some parts of the Gaza country it is so small that one must positively crawl to enter it. Everywhere one must at any rate stoop low (korama). As regards the *threshhold* (ntjandja wa shipfalo), it is not taboo to step over it. The headman's threshhold however is dreaded because it was treated with medicines when the hut was built, so it is taboo to sit on it ; these powerful medicines might do harm and even cause death. In the middle of the black clay floor is a 342 354 kind of raised circle, in the centre of which fire is occasionally lighted in winter on account of the cold. It is the interior *shitiko*. Cooking may be done here if it rains ; glowing embers sometimes remain on it during the night and numberless babies have been burnt to death by falling into the fire while their mothers were sleeping. On the left, on entering, is the sleeping place (shilawo) 513 853 841 of the wife, on the right that of the husband. They both however generally spread their mats on the right and sleep beside each other. It is only during the tabooed periods (menses, nursing), that the husband must keep to his own particular side (p. 188).

353 The back of the hut is generally occupied by the big basket (ngula) in which clothing and seeds are kept. This spot is called *mfungwe*. In the roof *(lwangu)* are fixed or suspended various articles : ears of sorghum or millet, cobs to be used as seed at the next sowing, assagais, sticks and knobkerries etc., and against the walls one frequently observes rough drawings made with white clay, or, in the vicinity of towns, chromos of Queen Victoria, Edward VII, or Don Carlos, as the case may be!

361 351 562 The hubo and the bandla differ from each other. *Bandla* is a Zulu word which has supplanted the Ronga term *shisiso*, viz., "the place where one finds shelter from the wind." Men light a small fire there to warm themselves. They also eat together

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PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS

I. ON THE RITES OF INFANCY (P. 36-61).

853 595 177 The rule that a mother "must plough for her child three hoes" is excellent. It is undoubtedly a splendid preparation for future life to have been fed during three years on mother's milk. Will it be possible to maintain this law under the new conditions of civilized life which are being adopted more and more throughout the tribes ? Let us notice that this provision, though it was inspired partly in the interest of the child itself, is dictated mainly by a superstition concerning the lochia secretion, which is regarded as highly noxious and as keeping the mother in an unclean state for a long time. This superstition will not withstand the test of science and will pass away. On the other hand, polygamy was invented and flourishes partly on account of this law. A husband separated from the wife who is nursing a child wishes to have other women at his disposal. Polygamy is doomed to pass also. For both these reasons, it is to be feared that this healthy custom will not be maintained in the future. This is a pity, and we ought to do our best to encourage its continuance.

843 177 Many young married Natives leave their homes and go to Johannesburg to the mines for one or two years as soon as they see that their wife is pregnant. This is certainly on account of the above rule : but this desertion of the conjugal home is hardly to be approved.

164 751 177 As regards the whole medical treatment characteristic of this period, which is considered more or less as a disease, it has no value at all. The big intestinal worm is, of course, merely a product of Native imagination. The children sometimes suffer from lombrics, but not more than white children. Convulsions are frequent as a result of malaria and dysentery, and neither the ever present *milombyana* nor the

302 used to shave their beards). Young men sometimes let two or three of their curls grow on their forehead like horns! Others stretch out their curls and smear them with a gluey substance obtained from the nkanye tree. This is called *ku hoba misisi*.

302 As regards women, those who are nursing babies regularly
853 turn their hair into an ornament: the small curls are stretched out, smeared with fat and made to fall on the temples and on the occiput; they are then covered with ochre. This operation is called *ku hora misisi*, and the rats'tails thus produced are the *tingoya*; they are the characteristic ornament of women during the nursing period. Nursing women undoubtedly think the tingoya improve their appearance. "Look! She has *hora misisi*! How well it suits her!" people will say of a woman who has succeeded in altering her coiffure in this way. But this custom has also a ritual value (1).

Nursing women cover their whole body, their clothing, and their *ntehe* (I. p. 46) with *ochre*. The habit of anointing (tota) or smearing with ochre (tshumane) goes hand in hand with that of tingoya. This rather disgusting custom marks them as nursing, and is a protection (shisibelo) against the husband; so long as a woman covers herself with ochre, it is a sign that she will not
302 cohabit with him. They say also that ochre prevents the bad
855 smell resulting from childrens' unclean habits, and that it softens the ntehe and makes the baby grow (2). The skin of children is also covered with a coating of this pigment; some say it is done not so much with the object of beautifying the child as of hiding the dirt which the mothers are too lazy to remove! No wonder that, in these conditions, it has been found that this smearing with ochre fosters conjunctivitis and other diseases!

177 (1) The Ngoni taught the Northern Thongas another and more elaborate way of
302 curling the hair: the queens, wives of Gungunyana, transform their "thatch" into regular cylindrical chignons (shifoko), standing up like towers (I. p. 416). The Ba-Ronga have not adopted this custom, except, in some cases, the chiefs. (I. p. 386).

(2) It is very curious to observe that these two feminine modes of adornment, the tingoya and the ochre, have been adopted by the magicians, those who pretend to possess supernatural power in smelling out witches and treating possessed people (Part VI). They like to assume the appearance of women. People suffering from the Ba-Ndjao possession especially use ochre. Their spirits order them to do so: they would torment their victims should the latter not obey.

† [i.e., spirit--analyst]

alone (See *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 414). He pours his drugs into one of the pots brought by the women, adds to them the psanyi of the goat sacrificed for the occasion, and pours all the contents on to the shoulders of the mother, who holds the babes in her lap. After this he pours from some other pot, which contains pure water, and the woman conscientiously washes herself and her children all the while. Until her purification no inhabitant of the village is allowed to eat anything, and the following day it is taboo to work in the fields, for this would prevent the rain from falling. 845 756 783

Amongst the *Nkunas*, the mother of twins sits at the entrance of the hut, and the drug is poured over the roof above the doorway; it leaks through the thatch on to her, and thus both the mother and the hut are purified at the same time.

This preliminary purification being thus accomplished, the woman goes to live in "her shelter," outside the village. She is absolutely shut off from all the other inhabitants. She has her own pots, axe, mortar, pestle, and does all her own cooking. Nobody even pays her a visit, and people only speak to her from a distance. Her children see no one but her. To each is allotted one breast, always the same. To help her in the nursing of twins the mother must "buy" a girl, to whom the care of one of the children is committed. This is a law. It is taboo for a girl, even should she be the elder sister, to "play" with a twin. The payment of £ 1 or ten shillings removes this taboo and the defilement (shisila) connected with it. 845 853 [691] [784]

Women fear that, if they touch anything belonging to the mother of twins, if they smear themselves with her provision of fat, or if the defiled one smears herself with their fat, they will also incur the dreadful misfortune of giving birth to twins. For this reason it is taboo for a mother of twins to draw water except at a certain spot. She must select one place and always go there. When she returns from drawing water, she must pay attention to the little wreath of grass which she wears on her head to help her balance her pot; it must not be thrown away with those used by other women, for fear that they also should become contaminated (tekela). 845 784

845 All these regulations[1] clearly show that, for the time being, the
184 mother of twins, like the widow, (I. p. 200) is regarded as outside
783 the pale of society. But her defilement is worse than that of the widow ; so, in order to be purified from it, the rite of *lahla khombo* (casting away the malediction) through which she must pass is much more severe. According to Mboza she must "deceive" four men one after the other, in the bush, all of whom will die. She hears that so and so says *djoo-djoo*, viz., becomes livid, that his body swells, that he is dead! She knows the reason. He has taken her defilement! Perhaps the fourth does not die but only becomes consumptive. These men have been pointed out to her by the divinatory bones. Each time she succeeds in performing the purification ceremony described in I. p. 205, she informs her medicine-man, who "prepares for her a vapour bath." Afterwards, she goes to reside at her parents' house, has relations with a lover, and gives birth to another child. Then her purification is complete, and her husband goes with 10/- to fetch her, and bring her home. The lover completed the removal of the "buhahla" i. e. the condition in which a mother of twins is. He has washed her (hlampsa). A new hut will be built for her, furnished with new utensils, and the ordinary family life will begin afresh.

845 As regards the twins themselves, they do not pass through
853 the ceremony of presentation to the moon (I. p. 52) as other children do. They are weaned earlier ; immediately after the reappearance of the menses the mother begins her *lahla khombo*, which at the same time is a *lumula*, a weaning of the children. They are then fed with goat's milk.

845 Twins are not liked by other people. They are looked upon as bad characters. When the little ones begin to crawl, and chance to go towards the other huts, people throw cinders at them and drive them away, saying : "These are children of Heaven. Be off! You annoy us!" If any ordinary child has a particularly bad disposition, they often say : "You are naughty! You are just like a twin!" — "Hahla dja karata" — "Twins are troublesome" is another common saying ; and if a child is really exceptionally difficult to deal with, people say : "It is a twin! You cannot do anything with it! (A dji koteki!)"

[1] [See pp. 433-435, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

refused to communicate his secret. He belonged to the Chopi tribe. The Ba-Pedi forbid sexual relations to lepers. 757

A nursing woman who has no milk must take a certain Euphorbiacea shrub called *nete*, containing a milky juice, crush it in the mortar, cook it in water and drink it. When a cow refuses to feed her calf Natives smear the calf with the *ribvumbara* herb, which has a pleasant odour. The cow smells this, and allows the calf to suck. 853

The treatment of *sterility* has already been described (I. p. 190) Mankhelu tried to cure it by digging a root of *Nembe-nembe* and one of *Nhlangowume* ; he cooked both together, and ordered the woman to eat them during a period of six days, mixing them with her food. This drug was considered as "closing her" (pfala), so that she would no longer have her "tihweti, "and thus be enabled to conceive. In the meantime, she had to undergo the horola or hondlola rite, which I shall describe presently. 842 278

Small-pox, nyedzane, was on several occasions introduced by the Whites, or by the Zulu armies on their return from their Northern raids. There have been at least five or six epidemics in the neighbourhood of Lourenço Marques during the last fifty years. 164

I had the opportunity of witnessing the last in 1918 in Rikatla and thus obtained first-hand information on the way Natives treat this disease and on their strange ideas concerning it. I published a detailed account of these in the S. A. *Journal of Science*, July 1919, and will give here a description of the most important of these *customs connected with small-pox amongst the Ba-Ronga*. When small-pox has invaded the country and reached the borders of the territory of a clan, the headmen assemble at the chief's residence and decide to proceed to the general inoculation of the population. This is a remedy which they have long been accustomed to use. They have noticed that the disease is milder when produced by inoculation with the virus than when it *hahela*, i. e. flies to the person. (There is some truth in this assertion ; the protection afforded however is not very effective, and severe and even fatal cases often follow the inoculation. It does not always secure immunity from a second attack.) The virus is provided by the people of a neighbouring clan who have already been attacked by 751